346 of 250 to 300 for the old Munduruku villages.

The aboriginal Munduruku village consisted of three to five dwelling places and the men's house, or ehiy.* The average population was about 250 people. Commonly, these villages were located on stretches of high savannah. Such a site was easily defensible as its open location protected it from the surprise attacks always used by Amazonian Indians. Also, these locations were relatively free of insects. The [317] Munduruku say too that "It is beautiful here for you can see far."

342 The houses were oblong with rounded ends and had steeply pitched thatched roofs. Some houses were 80 to 120 feet in length. The eaves of the roofs terminated at about five feet from the ground and the house was closed by vertical bark walls. Inner ends of the center stalks of palm fronds were used.

344 The men's house was a large lean-to type building, the open end of which always faced east. It was up to 120 feet long and had a roof that gently sloped from the east end, at which point it was about fifteen to twenty feet high, until it met the ground at the east end. The front and both sides were open. Adjoining the south side of the west end [318] of the men's house was the small room in which the sacred trumpets, forbidden to female eyes, were kept. Three horizontal beams, one in the middle and one on either side of the house, run from east to west at about five feet above

164 * The phonetic system used above and throughout this work is, with a few exceptions, that of English. The exceptions are: ã is pronounced like the German ä; ĩ and ũ are pronounced as in Portuguese lata and sete, respectively.

796 Mundurucania used to attend, and hunting parties scoured the nearby forests to maintain the enlarged village population during the ceremonies. A feature of both rites was ceremonial initiations of the various beasts by the male participants. The initiation of the tapir could only be done by a society known as the biwahi (mothers of the tapir). Members of this society were recruited by ceremonial capture by biwahi of the opposite society. The ceremonies were held at the initiative of one of the older men of the village, often, but not necessarily, the chief. This man acted as leader and organizer of the ceremony, but he was aided in the necessary preparations by all the village.

796 778 534 The above ceremonies were centered in the men's house. The men's house was also central to those rites involving the sacred trumpets. When a new men's house was built, the trumpets were shifted under cover of darkness from the old house to the new in a procession accompanied by the sacred flutes of other villages and the male visitors. The women remained confined to their houses and cried in memory of the fact that, according to legend, the trumpets and the men's house once belonged to them. Much the same procedure was followed when new trumpets were installed. The trumpets were made in secrecy in a secluded part of the forest and brought to the village in a similar after dark procession. One ritual so frequent in occurrence as not to warrant classification as a ceremony was the feeding and playing of the

776 flutes. Before every communal meal taken in the men's house,
778 the man who carried out the food had to bring a portion into
534 the trumpet chamber and place the food vessel against the mouth of the trumpets saying, "here is your food, old people. Eat and give us luck in the hunt." In order to further maintain the good will of the trumpets, they had to be played occasionally. Three players at a time performed this duty, but, since the playing lasted from afternoon until far into the night, they were relieved by other men. At least once a year, the flutes had to be served a feast of sweet manioc drink and played from afternoon until dawn of the next day. This ritual playing of the sacred trumpets was one of the few group religious activities that involved just the people of a single village.

776 The other ceremony to which outsiders did not need
775 to be invited was the curing rite to recover a lost soul. This involved three shamans and two men who knew the proper songs and who sang to each of the species "mothers" to return the soul. This resembles prayer, but in reality the songs were magical formulas that compelled the spirit to return the wandering soul.

776 All Mundurucú religious ceremonies were male dom-
542 inated. Women served only as observers and were able to participate at times in a play capacity only, except for one or two exceptions in which female shamans took part. Parts
776 542 of some ceremonies were forbidden to female eyes. There was
535 one secular dance in which women participated, but to a

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

The division between the male and female spheres of life was symbolized in the complex of beliefs and attitudes connected with the sacred trumpets. The three trumpets were kept in a carefully enclosed chamber adjoining the men's house, and access to the chamber could only be gained by traversing the sleeping quarters. Women were allowed to enter the men's house if they had a good reason, but the trumpet chamber was absolutely forbidden to them. Any woman who spied on the sacred trumpets was immediately punished by gang rape by the males of the village. The women, say the Mundurucú, once owned and played the trumpets and dominated the males. The men did all of the menial chores that the women do now. However, a culture hero stole the trumpets from the women, and their roles were reversed. Since that time the trumpets have been carefully guarded from them, and when new trumpets were made and installed in the men's house or when they were transferred from an old house to a newly built one, the women shut themselves inside their houses and bewailed the loss of the power-giving instruments.[4]

In order to keep the resident spirits happy, the men had to play the trumpets frequently. Three of the village men would play the instruments inside the chamber, and were occasionally relieved by others. At least once a year the trumpets were played all afternoon and night, accompanied by a general village feast. Another small ritual necessary to preserve the benevolent and protective attitude of the trumpet spirits towards the village was the custom of "feeding" the trumpets. Before partaking of any food served in the men's house, a man always entered the trumpet chamber, laid the three trumpets upon the ground and offered a half gourd of food at their mouths, saying "Here is your food. Eat. Make me lucky in the hunt."

The feeding and playing of the trumpets was the only Mundurucú ritual which did not involve the participation of people from other villages. A visitor from another village, however, could play the trumpets if he wished. Also, although the trumpets were clan property, moiety and clan membership did not disqualify a man from feeding or playing them. Any adult who knew how to play the instruments could do so. In view of the completely nonlocal nature of the clan, it seems incongruous that the clans owned the village trumpets. For instance, trumpets of the modern village of Cabruá belonged to the *Waro* clan, which had no members in residence in the village. According to informants, the village trumpets received the clan affiliation of the man who made them. As we will see in the following historical reconstruction, this and many other rather paradoxical facts about Mundurucú culture might have a functional-historical explanation.

PATRILOCALITY TO MATRILOCALITY

I propose to present in this section a reconstruction of changes in Mundurucú social structure which will perhaps be both "conjectural" and "structural" to employ Radcliffe-Brown's (1952:49) categories of methods of analysis, but which will attempt to follow Eggan's recommendation (1954:755) to see "social structures and culture patterns over time." It has been shown that mid-nineteenth century Mundurucú society was as viable as most social sys-

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tional subsistence activities, it placed severe inhibitions upon the extensive sorties formerly customary.

Warfare did not end until about 1912, over a century after the Mundurucú had made peace with the whites. During this time certain internal modifications had occurred in the social structure, but social cohesion had remained intact and the boundaries of the society were still sharply defined and vigorously maintained. Although members were lost to Brazilian society, a hard core of population living near the upper Tapajós River made war upon other Indian groups with energy and success. This was not "aboriginal" warfare; it was frequently waged on behalf of the whites and with firearms supplied by them. But the only information on Mundurucú warfare of any value pertains to the 19th century and was derived from older informants and published sources. This, then, is the proper time dimension of our study, and we turn now to a consideration of the relevant aspects of Mundurucú culture during this period.

The Mundurucú villages were located in the midst of grass-covered savannahs surrounded by dense forest, but their subsistence economy was essentially the same as other groups of the Amazon rain forest. Hunting was important throughout the year, and fishing was primarily a dry season activity. Garden crops included the usual range of Tropical Forest vegetables and fruits, and bitter manioc was the staple product. Manioc flour, known as *farinha* in Brazil, was also traded to the whites by the Mundurucú and constituted their most important commercial commodity in the period prior to the rubber boom.

The division of labor and the organization of work reflected certain basic aspects of Mundurucú social structure. The men hunted and fished and carried out the strenuous task of garden clearing, while the women did the rest of the horticultural work and tended the households. Residence was matrilocal, and the females of each house formed a nucleus of matrilineally related kinswomen; each such household was also a communal work and consumption unit. Each Mundurucú village had about three to five such houses and a men's house; the latter was the locus of male activity, for all the village men slept, ate, worked, and relaxed within its confines.

The membership of the men's house was eclectic in relation to descent. The Mundurucú were divided into more than forty patrilineal clans, linked by loose and unnamed phratric affiliations, and parcelled almost equally between patrilineal, exogamous moieties. But the matrilocal residence rule and the resultant shift of men from their natal households and, commonly, villages continually blocked the formation of co-resident descent groups.

Despite the diversity of their local and lineal origins, the men of a village, and ultimately of the whole tribe, were expected to maintain harmonious and cooperative relations. Cooperation in economic activities transcended the minimal necessities of their ecological adaptation, and any open show of aggression between men was strictly prohibited. The men's house provided the organizational framework within which this unity was expressed, while male

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

values were supernaturally reinforced by their possession of the sacred trumpets, or *karōkō*. Each village maintained a set of three of these instruments, and they were absolutely taboo to the eyes of the women, who were thought to have once owned them.

Political controls were not elaborate. Each village had a chief, whose position was bolstered by the fact that his sons were generally exempt from the matrilocal residence rule. Although there were no patterns of continuous supravillage leadership, relations between communities were very close and involved intermarriage and joint participation in ceremonies and warfare. Tribal feeling was highly developed and conflict between villages was totally absent.

THE CONDUCT OF WARFARE

Mundurucú warfare was distinguished by a complete lack of any defensive psychology, and the Mundurucú looked upon themselves as aggressors and victors. They have been described as " . . . one of the most valorous and feared [tribes] of all the hinterland of Amazons" (Almeida Serra 1869:4), while, on the other hand, the French explorer Henri Coudreau (1897:142) wrote in righteous indignation that, "The Mundurucú practice neither justice, nor duel, nor warfare, but only assassination." This harsh judgment seems not to fit the people who extended my wife and me kindness and hospitality, and who were invariably soft-spoken, humorous, and gentle. But these same gentle people spoke at length and with great animation of their former prowess as warriors and of expeditions against other tribes in which the enemy men and women were killed and decapitated and their children stolen. Nothing about their own culture interested the Mundurucú as much as the extinct but still remembered patterns of warfare, and the older men were zealous informants on that subject.

The human world was seen by the Mundurucú to consist of two distinct spheres; there were "people" or Mundurucú, and *pariwat*, a term referring to any non-Mundurucú human. With the exception of the neighboring Apiacá Indians and the white men, all pariwat were enemies. An enemy was not merely a person to be guarded against but was a proper object of attack, and the Mundurucú pursued this end with extraordinary vigor and stamina. Before 1795 they attacked Santarém and ranged near the mouth of the Amazon to strike the fort of Gurupá. Hartt (1885:116) stated that Mundurucú war parties had penetrated into the eastern part of the province of Maranhão, where they were beaten back by "Apinagés."[2] Tocantins (1877:98) claimed that the Mundurucú knew the city of Cuyabá in Mato Grosso, and informants told of raids as far as the upper waters of the Juruena, São Manoel, and Madeira Rivers. These expeditions apparently carried the warriors over 500 miles from home and must have involved trips of well over 1,000 miles. And the Mundurucú traveled solely by foot; bark canoes were made and used only for the purpose of crossing large streams. These were exceptional journeys, but

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

776 821 The *mambat ii* are delayed in their journey in certain years, and the rains then arrive late. There is no way by which humans can hasten their return.

[789] Although the Mundurucú have no supernatural techniques to induce or stop rain, they believe that they can frighten the mothers of the rain by planting a bow in the ground when a violent electrical storm threatens. Significantly, they generally resort to such preventative measures at the beginning of the rainy season, a period when storms frequently threaten but seldom strike. I have never seen them attempt to frighten electrical storms away after the full force of the rainy season has arrived.

In the old days, say Mundurucú informants, extremely powerful shamans were able to see the *mambat ii*, who always took the form of black deer when they traveled. When a shaman sighted one of these invisible animals he knew that it would rain and that it would be useless to go hunting.

Karökö Sembu

534 778 776 614 The *karökö* is a set of three trumpets, or more precisely, resonant chambers, which are kept in a small enclosed room attached to the men's house of each Mundurucú village. These trumpets are functionally equivalent to the more widely distributed bull-roarer. They are taboo to the sight of women, to whom they are believed to have once belonged, and they are endowed with supernatural qualities. This supernatural aspect of the *karökö* stems from the belief that they harbor certain spirits. These are of three categories. First, each set of trumpets is believed to possess a soul (*ibimabök*) that resides within the instruments. Again, each set of trumpets is considered to be the property of a certain clan and the residence of the *tabö*, or eponymous ancestor, of the clan. Finally, each set of trumpets has a group of spirit "companions" (*karökö ejcwot*). All three categories of spirit, when properly propitiated, act to protect the village in which the trumpets are housed.

534 778 776 174 614 The interrelationship of the various spirits of the trumpets with the structure of clan and phratry organization has been analyzed elsewhere,[11] but a brief recapitulation is necessary in order to understand fully the place of these supernaturals in contemporary Mundurucú culture. As mentioned in chapter I, the Mundurucú at one time practiced patrilocal residence, and their patrilineal clans had a residential basis in patrilineages. Furthermore, evidence suggests that the clan was once localized, and clan and village were equivalent units. During this period, what are now only the *karökö* of certain villages were also the *karökö* of clan groups. The clan ancestors were contained within the trumpets and exerted a benevolent influence over the clan-village unit. Clan, ancestor, and trumpet were all named after the same eponymous object, whether animal, fish, or plant. Each trumpet also had a spirit companion which was given a plant or animal name other than that of the clan. Ensuing population growth produced segmentation and the formation of new local lineages, some of which in time became localized clans in their own right. The offspring clans adopted new spirit companions for their trumpets but kept those of the parent clan, also. The sharing of a spirit com-

[11] Murphy, 1956.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

panion of the trumpets by parent and offspring clans constituted a phratriac affiliation and served to perpetuate their former unity.

When the Mundurucú shifted from a patrilocal to a matrilocal mode of residence during the nineteenth century, the clans lost their residential basis entirely and their male members were scattered by marriage throughout many villages. The sacred trumpets continued in their role as residences of the ancestral and companion spirits, but they no longer functioned to protect and aid a unified clan-village unit. Today, the trumpets are still regarded as the property of certain clans, but their spirits serve to protect a multiclan village. The close relationship that formerly existed between trumpets, clan ancestors, and clan members has become considerably attenuated, if not altogether lost. The trumpets are now considered the property of the clan of the man who manufactured them. In one village, no member of the clan that owned the village trumpets was in residence in the community. However, members of other clans played the trumpets and the village was nonetheless under the protection of the trumpet spirits. It is not surprising, then, that many informants considered the souls of the trumpets to be of greater importance to the village than were the spirits appropriate to the clan that owned them. The significance of the latter supernaturals will probably become increasingly dim in Mundurucú thought in future years owing to their incompatibility with the new social structure.

The Soul

The Mundurucú believe that all humans, animals, fish, and domesticated plants possess a soul, or *ebienabik*; the most detailed and most important body of belief, however, concerns the souls of humans. People have two *ebienabik*; one is the real soul, and the other is merely the shadow or reflection of the individual. The latter is believed to become transformed into the *aibi* spirit upon the physical death of its bearer, and the former leaves the body and goes to the afterworld. The real *ebienabik* is thought to resemble a small, black, ovoid-shaped pebble and is said to be situated in the region of the spinal column, between the lower extremities of the shoulder blades. Although it has physical reality, no one knows of what material it is made.

In spite of their belief in the immortality of the soul, the Mundurucú are not as worried about the fate of the soul after death as they are with the misadventures that may befall the soul during life. The soul is said to leave the body sometime after death, but no informant was certain whether the soul departed immediately or lingered in the corpse for a period of time. The soul of the deceased has three possible destinations. Those of men who devoted considerable time to the playing of the sacred trumpets, or *karóké*, go to Karúkakai, the place where the trumpets were first discovered by the women. There they play the instruments and live well, for the forests team with game and the rivers with fish. Men and women who knew the ceremonial dances for the spirit mothers of the game reside in another afterworld, known as Upötcharó, or the land of the game. The animals there have human forms, although the forests are paradoxically thought to be

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

sick woman was then dried with a piece of cloth, and the shaman placed the lighted end of a cigarette in his mouth and blew smoke over her entire body. He then rubbed her legs from toes to thighs, blew more smoke upon her stomach and rubbed both front and back of her torso. Another shaman took his piece and twice passed a palm leaf down her body and both arms. Each time, he cleaned the leaf of the malignant objects that it supposedly picked up from the patient's skin. 196 755

These ministrations were intended to rid the body of the sick woman of some of the accumulation of evil or extraneous objects that had entered her during her illness. An especially dangerous article was discovered in her chest, and the least powerful of the shamans applied his mouth to her body and sucked it out. He was immediately racked by a fit of violent coughing, and a shaman having somewhat more power sucked at his throat, whereupon the object lodged in his own throat. It was finally removed by the most powerful of the four shamans present. He, too, appeared to be choked by the malignant object but succeeded in spitting it out into his hand. All present were invited to look at it, and, evidently no longer dangerous, it was given to a small boy to throw into a fire.

The last part of the curing ceremony was the special duty of the only member of the *Bioši* society present in the village. He approached the sick woman, chanting a song and stamping each foot upon the ground. In this manner he circled about her and then grasped her under the armpits and lifted her while stamping his feet. This process was believed to shake the last of the supernatural objects from her body, and she was then ready to have her soul restored. The shaman again plucked the soul from the tapir's skull and placed his clenched hand over the patient's head, making motions suggesting that he was placing the soul within. The sick woman, who was thought to be fully cured, returned to normal activity and enjoyed the appearance of restored health. Unfortunately, her condition, which was possibly tubercular, soon worsened, and again she began to cough steadily.

The Karišó

Certain supernatural beliefs and practices are connected with the *karišó*, or sacred musical instruments of the Mundurucú. The instruments themselves have been somewhat inaccurately termed trumpets for lack of a better word, although in design and operation they more nearly approximate the oboe. Each Mundurucú village of the savannahs has a set of three such instruments. Each set belongs to a different clan, but their essential design and construction are the same, though with some variation in size. This has no ritual significance but is regarded by the Mundurucú as a sign of degeneration, for the *karišó* of different villages were said to be formerly of the same size and much larger than those of today. However, the three instruments composing any single set are purposely and traditionally graded in size. 534 778

The *karišó* are actually extremely simple instruments. Each is merely a long, hollow cylinder made of a very light wood, into the end of which is inserted a reed. Those of the village of Cabruá were 43, 46, and 52 inches long and the

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

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internal diameters of their resonant chambers were 3⅝, 3⅝, and 3¼ inches, respectively. The reed is made by splitting a 27 to 28-inch length of wet and pliant pariuba palm root, hollowing out both halves and rejoining them by binding at either end. A stick slightly larger than the diameter of the cylinder is bound at right angles to the reed and prevents it from falling within the chamber when inserted. When one blows into the end of the reed it gives a flatulent sound similar to the American Bronx cheer, but when the reed is inserted into the resonant chamber of the *karikó* and blown, it emits a deep reverberating tone. The sound emitted by these instruments is not said to be of supernatural origin, nor is it considered an imitation of the voice of spirits.

The actual playing usually takes place within the chamber where the instruments are stored. This chamber is a small extension at the southwest end of the men's house. The roof adjoins that of the main sleeping quarters and slopes to the ground at the west end at the same pitch. But unlike the open-sided dormitory, the *karikó* chamber is completely walled with thatch in order to insure the secrecy of its contents. The trumpet chamber of the village of Cabruá measured 20 feet in length and 11½ feet in width. Owing to the pitch of the roof, however, one could walk erect for less than half the length of the room. The back of the chamber was generally used as a rubbish heap for the disposal of the old pariuba root reeds. Suspended horizontally from the ceiling were two parallel poles, upon which the three trumpets were laid when not in use. Also hanging from the roof was a horn made of a hollow bamboo tube, to the end of which was attached an empty gourd, a design resembling an hourglass was cut in the side of the gourd. The over-all length of the instrument was 22 inches, and the length of the bamboo tube was 16½ inches. This particular horn was used to emulate the roar of the jaguar, or ũi ruj, *upon ipichat*, which is the eponymous name of one of the spirit companions of the trumpets of Cabruá.

[782] The spirits residing within the *karikó* become displeased, say the Mundurucú, if not properly fed and played. Accordingly, every night when the men gather in front of the men's house for their meal, one of them brings a half-gourd of food into the chamber, lays the trumpets on the ground, and offers food to the mouth of each. The playing of the trumpets is somewhat more irregular and infrequent, although the older men claim that they were played daily in times past.

The trumpets are usually played during the late afternoon and shortly after nightfall. Although they are nominally considered to be the property of a particular clan, any man is allowed to play them. These are not especially sacred occasions. Although other men are free to watch the three players performing, they generally amuse themselves in other ways, as guitar playing, talking, or making artifacts. The women, who go about their work nonchalantly at these times, always seem to know who the performers are, despite the fact that sight of the instruments is absolutely forbidden to them and the trumpet chamber is carefully shielded from their view.

The actual music produced by the three *karikó* players was not recorded and can be described only as a deep and rather monotonous dirge. The music is always

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the same, but there are a number of songs or words to the same basic melody. These songs are not sung by the players but are thought by them during the performance. In keeping with exclusive male access to the instruments, the songs are known and taught only to the men. Of any group of three players the man who knows the songs best acts as the leader and plays the medium-sized instrument, and the others act as his accompaniment. The leader plays the basic *karúkó* melody, and the man with the largest trumpet emits long and steady blasts interspersed with occasional short ones. The player of the smallest of the three instruments, usually the youngest man, blows a few short sounds whenever the leader signals him by lifting his elbow. The players pause at indefinite intervals, and the leader then sounds a blast on the guard horn.

As they play, the three walk side by side across the width of the trumpet chamber. The room is large enough to allow three long steps with a pivot motion at the end. The instrument is clutched across the chest by the left forearm as the player walks, and the reed is held with the right hand.

The frequent playing of the *karúkó* is accepted as a necessary part of the ordinary round of village life and does not merit designation as a ceremony. There are other, however, special occasions when the instruments become the focus of much wider social participation. It is believed necessary to offer a special feast to the various spirits of the trumpets at least once a year. On the designated day, the women amass large quantities of sweet manioc and grate it into water to make a rich beverage; sufficient game is usually killed on the previous day to last through the feast. The finished drink is brought to the men's house in large clay pots, and the men gather about with half-gourds and drink. Large quantities are consumed, the the women are kept busy throughout the day. The feasting generally begins at noon and lasts until nightfall. As every round of beverage arrives, a bowl must be offered to the trumpets. The spirits are further gratified by the trumpets being played from the beginning of the feast until dawn of the following day. Most of the village population sleeps throughout the night, and the players are occasionally relieved by other groups of three men. Invitations to this feast are not extended to other villages.

Other ceremonies are held when the trumpets are being moved from an old village to a newly constructed one and when new trumpets are made and installed. Both of these occasions involve the participation of people from other villages. The ceremony of the reinstallation of the *karúkó* in a new men's house took place in Cabitutú during our field work. The village invited the two nearest villages, Cabruá and Deodydm. Deodydm declined as the inhabitants were busy preparing manioc flour, but those of Cabrgá accepted. The guests arrived during the afternoon and on the following day the men went to the forest to gather thatch for the wall of the trumpet chamber. The new village was built a few hundred yards from the old one, and although the dwellings had been finished and were already occupied by the women and children, only the frame of the men's house had been completed. The men continued to sleep in the old men's house. On the second day after the arrival of the guests, the men went hunting while the women harvested the sweet manioc.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

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The women made the manioc drink on the next, or third, day of the ceremony, and the men then commenced thatching the walls of the trumpet chamber. The men's house, say the Mundurucú, is the home of the kurikí, and the trumpets must be moved into a completely roofed and walled dwelling at the same time that the men move. For this reason it is necessary to complete the walls and roof in one day and to move into the new men's house, with the trumpets, that very night. Since it takes several days to thatch a roof properly, the roof of the old house is customarily dismantled and placed upon the frame of the new one. A new roof would be built during the next rainy season.

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During the busy preparations for the installation of the instruments in their new home, considerable feasting and gaiety took place also. From the arrival of the guests until the completion of the thatching, everybody took part in intermoiety and intersexual joking. Mixtures of urucú or palm fruit and water were prepared and were thrown by the women upon men of the opposite moiety. The latter seized the women's supply occasionally and took revenge.

After thatching the roof of the new men's house and walling the trumpet enclosure, the men assembled in the old men's house. They unstrung their hammocks and assembled all their belongings and then took the trumpets from their old chamber. Three men of the same moiety as the clan to which the trumpets belonged then began playing the instruments and slowly marched toward the new village. The other men crowded about the players, wearing and waving palm leaves, to shield the sacred instruments from the eyes of the women. Within the protecting ring were four other men. One carried a hunting horn with which he occasionally sounded a signal consisting of two long, four short, and two more long blasts; another man followed this signal with the characteristic yell of the hunter who raises game. A third man sounded the gourd horn associated with the trumpets of Cabituté, and a fourth walked along shaking a rattle. The last man belonged to the opposite moiety of the trumpets and was referred to as their [illegible]. His head was covered with a paste made of urucú and ground maize.

[302]

The slow procession started from the old men's house at dusk, and night had fallen by the time the group of marchers reached the new village. The women shut themselves in the dwelling houses in anticipation of the men's arrival, and, as the men entered the village, the women began to wail in sorrow for the loss of the instruments that are believed to have once been theirs.* The procession of men circled each house of the village three times and then stopped in front of the new men's house. There the trumpets were played while the rest of the men drank the sweet manioc beverage and rested. The instruments were played outside the men's house until dawn and were then brought inside their new chamber and played until the sun rose. At that time they were retired to the rack suspended from the ceiling, and the guests departed for their own village. The old men's house was later burned to hide all evidence of the activities that once went on in it.

In view of the rapid disintegration of Mundurucú village life, it is doubtful

* See pp. 99-01.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Munduruca SQ13

that many new *karóbi* will be made. In the past, however, the installation of newly manufactured instruments called for a ceremony quite similar to that held when they were shifted to a new man's house. The trumpets are made in a temporary shelter situated deep in the forest, secure from the chance gaze of passing women. One man is responsible for their manufacture, and the *karóbi* are considered to belong to his clan and to harbor its spirits.

Until they are properly installed in the men's house, the trumpets are referred to as *uwé emen*, or "jaguar with a beak." The Munduruci explain this difference in nomenclature as being due to their reluctance to mention the proper names of new instruments in front of the women. The ceremony of installation is called *uwé emen bow*, or "going to get the jaguar with a beak." Invitations are sent to the residents of several other villages, and all are expected to bring their own *karóbi*. The male invitees leave their own communities with the trumpets well before dawn and proceed directly to the shelter where the new instruments are being made. Their women leave after daybreak and go to the host village. The assembled men feast throughout the day and at dusk form a procession to the village. This is almost identical to the one formed when old trumpets are being installed in a new village, except that the trumpets of several villages are played. After the new instruments are installed, the old ones are brought to the place where the former were made and are burned.

This description of Munduruci ceremonialism shows that ritual emphasis was placed upon the propitiation of the spirit owners of game animals, warfare and the quest for trophy heads, and the plantation of the clan and trumpet spirits. A unifying thread can be discerned in the fact that the proper care of the trophy head was regarded as a means of pleasing the animal spirits, and also that the trumpet spirits were vaguely conceived as being associated with those of the game. Furthermore, the curing ceremony was specifically devoted to retrieving souls stolen by the animal supernaturals.

Mythology and folklore reveal a continuation of the basic masculine theme of hunting and warfare in Munduruci culture. The Munduruci recognize spirit mothers of fish and aquatic animals, but these were propitiated only incidentally during the major ceremonies for the animal spirits; informants mentioned fish spirits in this connection as an afterthought. There is a striking absence of attention to horticulture both in the belief system and in the ceremonial cycle. Each species of domestic plant is believed to have a soul, but not a mother spirit. Songs were formerly sung to the species souls, when the particular plant was being sown, to insure a good harvest, and another song was sung to the garden at the time of burning the clearing. All these songs were better known by the men than by the women, although the latter did most of the horticultural work. No substantiation could be found for Tocantins' statement that the Munduruci perform annual ceremonies for maize and manioc.[2]

[1] During the patrilineal phase of Munduruci social structure, the maker of the trumpets probably belonged to the dominant, and perhaps only, clan of the village, and there was undoubtedly a closer functional relationship between clan and trumpet than under present matrilineal circumstances.

[2] Tocantins, 1877, pp. 133–134.

11: Murphy E-S (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

VI. RELIGION IN A CHANGING SOCIETY

In the first chapters of this study it was suggested that changes in Munduruc religion could better be understood through an analysis of changes in other aspects of the culture than through knowledge of the activities of the missionaries. This is not to deny that the priests are and have been powerful and influential figures among the Indians. But their proselytizing efforts have consistently been realized only after certain social and economic changes have taken place. Also, changes in religion have consisted principally in the disappearance of activities and beliefs. The acquisition of Christianity has been an extremely slow process, although it might be hypothesized that it will become accelerated with further disintegration of Munduruc society.

Until very recent years, the core of Munduruc religious beliefs was the relationship between the world of humans and that of the game animals; the sharp decline of this aspect of Munduruc religion is one of the most striking changes. The bond between animals and humans was clearly expressed in the complex of beliefs and rites connected with the spirit mothers of the game, and the *Arusorus* and *Dajorupaxip* ceremonies were the most important of all Munduruc rituals. Their enactment protected humans from the vengeance of the spirits and promoted the fertility and availability of game. Even the sacred trumpets, originally the abodes of ancestral spirits of localized clans, acquired a vague and undefined relationship with the animal spirits. Warfare, also, was rationalized by the beneficent influence of the trophy head upon these supernaturals. Furthermore, the shaman was not only responsible for feeding the spirits, but he was believed to be able to cure the animals that dwell in human form in the Land of the Game, much as he cures the tame game animals found in every Munduruc village.

The closeness of the human-animal bond can be seen in other aspects of belief. Mythology abounds with accounts of animals that at one time had human forms, and the origin of certain species from the metamorphosis of humans is common. That the reverse can also take place is seen in the conversion of people into animals during the *Daparip* ceremony. The best example of the merging and interpenetration of the two realms is the saga of Periwát, who became almost animal through an extended and solitary stay in the forest.

The relationship between Munduruc society and the animal kingdom was one of symbiosis. The Munduruc depended upon the animals for subsistence, and the animals, through their spirit mothers, depended upon the Munduruc for the performance of rituals essential to their well-being and increase. The disappearance of these rituals is explained quite simply by the Munduruc as owing to the lack of shamans sufficiently powerful to protect the animal spirits and human participants from attacks by the *Tawapari*. This view is true to the extent that there are fewer shamans among the contemporary Munduruc, but it also reflects a characteristic fatalism and apathy toward the aboriginal culture. Not only are modern shamans said to be weaker, but men, in general, are not believed to be as strong, brave, and wise as were their forebears. And game is not as plentiful as it was in times past, nor are women considered as beautiful and desirable.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

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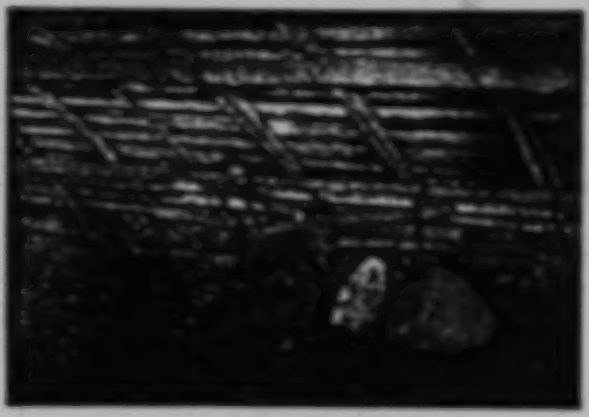

6. Instruments used in the communion of the Game. The cylinders are horns played in three sizes, and the earthenware pots are used as containers of the beverage offered to the "spirit mothers" of the game animals. Note the tapir skull between the vessels.

8. Mundurucú man playing one of the sacred trumpets, or karúkú. Another of the set of three instruments is leaned against the wall at the right.

[end plate 5]

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

warrior be buried by members of the opposite moiety in his homeland, no matter how far from home he had fallen. A member of his iboiwatitit was therefore responsible for bringing his humerus back to the village for proper interment, in lieu of the body. Since a seriously wounded warrior had to be left behind, and would obviously die of hunger or at the hands of the enemy, the iboiwatitit member cut off the arm bone while he was still alive. It was realized that the man would then die, but informants say that the iboiwatitit would not be denied its pleasure.

Other moiety-linked roles were exercised during ceremonies. The members of the *Bïudï aogyn* (Mothers of the Tapir) society recruited their unwilling neophytes from the opposite moiety during the Ceremony of the Game, and children were ritually "captured" for instruction in warrior songs by members of the other moiety during the war ceremonies. The disappearance of the ceremonies has eliminated these moiety prerogatives, but the joking and burial functions remain. Other extant manifestations of membership may be found in the practice of dyeing a child's carrying sling with his moiety color and in the sleeping arrangements of the men's house.

Although the clans bear eponymous names, they lack most totemic features. Clan members do not observe any special relationship with the animal, plant, fish, or bird for which their descent group is named, nor do they recognize any personal affiliation with these objects. Each clan has an ancestral spirit, referred to as a *tubö*; this term is also used to denote the culture heros and can be loosely translated as "great ancestor." The tubö of a clan bears the same name as the clan. Thus, the tubö of the macaw clan is the macaw. Suggestive though this may be of belief in descent from the eponymous object, the mythology in no way supports such a conclusion. In fact, no formal

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Attached to this structure is a small, fully enclosed chamber in which are kept a set of three sacred trumpets, known as the *karókó*. It is believed that within each set dwell (1) the ancestral spirit (tubó) of a certain clan and (2) another, lesser, category of supernaturals known as the *karókó ejewöt*, or "companions of the instruments." The clan whose tubó resides in a particular set of trumpets is said to be the owner of the instruments. Few clans can own trumpets under present conditions, because only six villages now have men's houses.

An anomalous situation derives from the fact that the instruments are today considered to belong to the clan of the man who made them. Thus, the trumpets of the village of Cabruá were made by a man of the *Waró* clan and so belonged to it and its phratric affiliates, the *Ihí* and *Rapsem* clans. The craftsman died, and at the time of our stay no members of these clans resided in the village. This is not an unusual situation, because the general rule of matrilocality, combined with patrilineal inheritance of clan and moiety membership, tends to prevent any residential nuclei of fellow clansmen from developing. The sons of the man who made the trumpets of Cabruá moved to the villages of their wives upon marriage, and the demise of the father simply terminated the line in this particular village. Of course, it is possible that a *Waró*, *Ihí*, or *Rapsem* man might similarly take up residence in Cabruá, but such an event would be accidental. We are thus confronted with a situation in which the ancestral spirits of clans are housed in sacred musical instruments that are presumably the property of the clan, but with which the clan members may possibly have no contact or ritual relationship. Actually, the trumpets are played by any man of any clan or either moiety who lives in the village, or by any Mundurucú who might happen to be in

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

614 534 779 the village. And the spirits in the trumpets, which have to be placated by playing the instruments and presenting them with ritual offerings of food, are considered to offer protection and aid to the village, and not to the clan. Despite the *de jure* rights of the clan over the karökö, *de facto* rights are vested in the village. This anomaly could only be resolved if the clan were either localized or had local nuclei. This would be possible only under a patrilocal rule of residence, which would allow the men, who are the perpetuators and transmitters of clan membership, to remain in the paternal home after marriage.

614 [591] Clan ownership of the karökö and the localization implicit in the word for clan both suggest that the matrilocal rule of residence is not very old and was preceded by patrilocality. Further evidence for this conclusion may be found in the complex linkages on which the phratries are based. The data on these ties are admittedly inaccurate and incomplete. Despite this disadvantage, it is patent that there is a correlation between the spirit "companions of the trumpets" and phratry. Many clans have several "companion" spirits, and some of these spirits are shared by more than one clan. Thus, the *Witum*, *Wakú*, and *Karú* clans of the Red moiety share a "companion" spirit called *werémop*, and, correspondingly, the members of each of the three clans refer to those of the other two as *uchaim*, or "of our group." This example suffices to illustrate the principle on which phratries are formed, although this phratry is one of the least complex. A somewhat more intricate phratry consists of the *Karú* subclan, *Kabá*, *Arú*, *Yurí*, and *Ilí* clans of the Red moiety. *Yurí* and *Ilí* are linked by common recognition of *apat*, the crocodile, as spirit "companion of the trumpets"; *Karú* subclan and *Arú* are affiliated through common recognition of the yarökpökpökpöka, a bird; *Kabá* and *Arú* are affiliated through

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12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

komtí, a tree; and *Arú* and *Yuri* find a bond in fellowship, another tree. The five member phratries do not all have the same "companion of the trumpets" as in the first case presented, but rather are tied together in a chain of pairs of common spirits. The fact that some clans within a phratry may be directly linked to another through a mutually recognized spirit and to others only by intervening clans results in some difference of feelings of kinship. Thus, only clans that maintain an especially close bond through possession of identical spirits can interchange members. For example, a man of the *Sau* clan may bestow the name *Muri* on one or more of his children. This does not alter the father-child relationship in any way, but the children of sons who have received the name of a close clan of the father's phratry, in turn transfer this membership to their children. Among the contemporary Mundurucú, this practice is frequently and deliberately followed in order to bolster the ranks of depopulated clans.

The *Kirili* clan of the White moiety and the *Waru*, *Sau*, and *Karú* clans of the Red are divided into two sections. The clan proper is referred to by the Mundurucú as the "real" clan, while the subclan is known as *kokusuet*, or "dwellers of the same place." The members of each section feel even more closely related than do members of the same phratry, and the naming system does not reveal to which section an individual belongs. Membership in each section is kept separate only through general knowledge of each person's genealogy. Three of these four clans have an interesting characteristic. They share spirit "companions of the trumpets" except for a minor difference: the clan proper recognizes the larger species of a plant or animal family, the subclan the smaller species.

This detail and the identity of clan names suggest that the subclan half is an offshoot of the clan. If this is so,

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

from his co-residents and arouse their antagonism and suspicion. For a shaman, such asocial and deviant behavior may court the risk of accusation of sorcery. Coöperation is an aspect of the general solidarity and cohesion that is manifest, at least in surface relationships, among the men. Open arguments are rare among Mundurucú males; during our residence we never heard one raise his voice against another. And physical violence, except in the execution of sorcerers, is almost unheard of. The Mundurucú look on such behavior as a white man's trait and consider it to be repulsive among "people."

This emphasis on harmony and coöperation among the Mundurucú men is significant for the social structure. The men are an eclectic group from the standpoint of patrilineal kinship and local origins, but the organization of men's house activities welds them into a unified social entity that coöperates in economic matters and, in former times, in warfare. The uniformity of the men's organization from one village to another, and its diverse membership, do much to ease the strains imposed on the male by matrilocal residence, for a change in village is primarily a change from one men's house to another.

The solidarity of the village men has no doubt done much to maintain the striking male dominance manifest in Mundurucú society, despite the fact that the consanguineal continuity of the village is maintained primarily through household nuclei of related women. But these are also ritual techniques for the maintenance of male social superiority. Women enter the dormitory part of the eksá only when it is absolutely necessary. The chamber in which the sacred trumpets (karökö), are kept is absolutely forbidden to them. The trumpets are stored in a chamber adjoining the southwest side of the men's house. That of the village of Cabruá measures 11 by 20 feet, and palm

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

leaf walls and a baffle doorway guarantee the privacy of the instruments. The Mundurucú believe that the karökö spirits protect the village and give it supernatural aid, but proper relations must be observed toward these supernaturals if their benevolence is to be maintained and their anger avoided. The trumpets and their spirits are pleased by being periodically played. This is now done about every other evening, but the older men claim that the ritual was formerly performed daily. The karökö consists of a set of three hollow cylinders with reeds set in the mouths; their sizes are slightly graded and the note produced by each is of a slightly different pitch, although all produce a low, vibrant sound. When they are played by the usual three-man group, the music sounds like a dirge.

In addition to playing the instruments, the men must "feed" them almost daily. This is done during the evening meal. The trumpets are laid on the floor, and one of the men holds a bowl of food momentarily before the end of each, saying: "Here, old people. Eat. And make me lucky in the hunt." The food is then brought outside and poured back into the community bowl and eaten.

It has been said that the functional connection between clan and trumpet has become extremely attentuated, and each karökö is now, in effect, part of a village cult. The karökö has a further function, however, in rationalizing and maintaining the social roles considered proper to either sex. Long ago, say the Mundurucú, there were no sacred musical instruments. Three women went to the forest one day and heard music issuing from a lagoon. They returned with nets and caught three fish, each of which turned into a trumpet. The women kept their discovery secret, but one day the men learned that they had musical instruments which they played in the forest, and demanded that they bring them to the village. The women

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

complied under the condition that they could occupy the men's house and play the trumpets there. The men acceded, and the women, their position supernaturally reinforced by the instruments, assumed the roles of men. The latter drew water, chopped firewood, and made beiju (the flat manioc flour cake), just as the women do now. And throughout the night the women left their hammocks in the ekad and went to the dwelling houses, where they forced the men to have coitus regardless of their desires, just as the men do to the women today. The women could not hunt, however, and were thus unable to feed the trumpets properly; they were therefore forced to relinquish them to the men. Since that time, the men have jealously guarded the instruments even from the sight of the females, lest they again assume dominance.

Their role of hunters, and their special relationship to the karökö is one of the social charters of male superordination. Beyond this, one can discern the outlines of the classical castration-anxiety theme. The trumpets are unmistakably phallic in design (as are bull roarers), and when the women owned them they usurped male roles, including the significant one of the aggressive part in sexual relations. The men accomplished a counterrevolution, but their manhood is still threatened. This appears in the occasional appearance of the vagina-dentata motif, such as in humorous references to the female organ as the "crocodile's mouth." Moreover, a punishment exists for women who spy upon the karökö, although nobody can remember this ever to have happened. The punishment is perfectly symbolic; the guilty woman is gang-raped by all the men of the village. Thus, the position of the male is symbolized and reinforced by the trumpets, and threats to this position are coped with by an act of phallic sadism. This conclusion may seem to be based on an inferential analysis,

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

but the Mundurucú themselves, openly, consciously, and with no little amusement say also that they discipline their women with the penis.

The punishment of a woman for spying on the kartkó is no doubt a rarity, but the penalty is occasionally meted for offenses of a related nature. Adultery is fairly common among the Mundurucú, but it usually is instigated by the male. Because of the inequality implicit in their roles, a lone woman generally finds it difficult to resist the determined advances of a man; her chief protection is the constant company of other women. But if the woman frequently and deliberately leaves the village alone, she is considered to be desirous of sexual relations and therefore fair game—this is a generally correct conclusion on the part of the men. Such a female is tolerated, indeed welcomed, by the men, but if her promiscuity becomes flagrant and if she takes the initiative in liaisons, she becomes a threat to the men. In effect, she usurps the male role. At this point, the men await an opportunity and then gang-rape her. Any woman who departs from her ascribed social role, or who even forsakes the protection of the men responsible for her well-being, may also be so punished. Adolescent girls who run away from the school conducted by the Cururú Mission, for example, are frequently apprehended in their flight and raped. All men join in on these occasions, without recognition of clan or moiety affiliations to their victim. One case was related in which a true parallel cousin took part in the rape of a girl who had fled the mission. At the conclusion of the act, he brought her back to the priests with appropriate and sanctimonious comments on the problem of wayward girls.

The sexes, among the Mundurucú, constitute self-conscious social groups. Mundurucú generally relax in the company of members of their own sex and sit apart at

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

562 mixed social gatherings. The females resent the male posi-
578 tion, and the modern savannah woman commonly objects to
571 the fact that the sexual division of labor is maintained here,
[184] unlike among the Cururú River Mundurucú where men join their wives even in such prosaic tasks as farinha making. When the men laughingly recount a gang-rape, or some similar event, the women become markedly nervous and draw closer together. Hostility manifests itself in inconsequential happenings also. When the interpreter introduced the Mundurucú to the mystery of the slingshot, the men immediately peppered the women with palm seeds.

182 The trumpets have lost most of their relations to clans
534 but remain functional in protecting the village from super-
● 778 natural harm and in the maintenance of traditional sexual
562 roles. They also symbolize the unity of the men as a solidary body. That the women also cohere under threat of the men is clear from the account given above. But such unification and cohesion of females is usually temporary, for the social structure places the woman in a different context of interpersonal relations from that of the men.

THE WOMEN AND THE FAMILY

562 Whereas the center of male activity is the men's house,
that of the females of the village is the dwelling and the open walled hut in which farinha is made by all village women. The internal physical arrangement of the dwelling
342 house reflects its organization. It is uncompartmented, and the roof is suspended from a ridge pole supported by two vertical posts. Horizontal poles are trussed against these verticals and across to the front and back walls, and the women and children hang their hammocks between these beams and the end walls of the house. The house is thus divided into three unwalled sections; each end contains